

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 276306  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:MSTERNER:TH

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.

P:PCHABIB

S/S-O: TGMLTIN

NSC:WQUANDT

-----027283 180029Z /61

O 180007Z NOV 77 ZFF6

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 276306

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF, US, EG

SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT TO ISRAEL

REF: CAIRO 18977

1. PLEASE TRY TO SEE SADAT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS.

2. X; XX XX XX AS PRESIDENT

CARTER HAS SAID IN HIS LETTER TO SADAT, HE CONSIDERS

SADAT'S OFFER TO GO TO ISRAEL A BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE STEP

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 276306

THAT COULD HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT IN CHANGING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE OF THE ARAB-ISRAEL DISPUTE AND IMPROVING THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS PERHAPS SOME DANGER THAT A STATE OF EUPHORIA AND UNJUSTIFIED EXPECTATION MAY BE BUILT UP AROUND THE VISIT WHICH COULD THEN SUFFER A LET-DOWN AFTERWARDS. IT STRIKES US AS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT SADAT USE HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES AND STATEMENTS IN

ISRAEL TO BEST ADVANTAGE TO BUILD ON THE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT WHICH THE MERE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS VISIT HAS ALREADY HAD ON ISRAELI PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL OPINION.

3. PERHAPS THE MOST USEFUL CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE IS TO GIVE SADAT A FEW OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE CURRENT PSYCHOLOGICAL MOOD IN ISRAEL AS WE UNDERSTAND IT. THE ISRAELIS

HAVE OF COURSE BEEN DEEPLY IMPRESSED AND INTERESTED IN THE INCREASING DEPTH OF EGYPT'S COMMITMENT TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE UNDER SADAT'S LEADERSHIP. THEY WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CERTAIN OTHER ARAB LEADERS AS WELL HAVE MOVED IN THE SAME DIRECTION IN RECENT YEARS. BUT THEY WOULD ALSO POINT OUT THAT ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL IS FAR FROM A UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. THE ISRAELIS HAVE A DEEP-SEATED FEAR THAT THE ARABS, IN THEIR HEART OF HEARTS, HAVE NOT REALLY GIVEN UP THE OBJECTIVE OF SEEKING TO DESTROY ISRAEL. THERE ARE UNFORTUNATELY STILL SUFFICIENTLY NUMEROUS VOICES IN THE ARAB WORLD THAT TEND TO GIVE DAILY CONFIRMATION OF THIS SUSPICION. SADAT'S VISIT TO ISRAEL THUS AFFORDS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THESE SUSPICIONS AND CONCERNS, AND TO BEGIN TO DISPEL THEM. FOR THE LEADER OF THE MOST POWERFUL AND INFLUENTIAL ARAB STATE TO STAND BEFORE THE ISRAELI KNESSET AND DEVELOP THE THEME OF ARAB READINESS TO ACCEPT ISRAEL AS A NEIGHBOR, AND TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH IT, CANNOT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 276306

HELP BUT MAKE A PROFOUND IMPRESSION ON ISRAELI THINKING. NOTHING COULD HAVE GREATER IMPACT THAN FOR SADAT TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IS TO CONCLUDE PEACE TREATIES AND, AS ONE ELEMENT OF PEACE, SEEK WAYS TO ESTABLISH NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS.

4. WE UNDERSTAND THAT SADAT WILL WANT TO SET FORTH THE ARAB PERCEPTION OF WHAT PALESTINIAN AND TERRITORIAL ELEMENTS OF PEACE SHOULD BE. IN THIS CONNECTION AN AREA OF SPECIAL SENSITIVITY IN TERMS OF ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION IS THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. IN ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, WE HOPE SADAT WILL KEEP IN MIND THE INTENSITY OF FEELING WITHIN ISRAEL AGAINST THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE ISRAELIS--AND THIS VIEW EXTENDS ACROSS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISRAELI POLITICAL OPINION--ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN INDEPENDENT MINI-STATE WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE SUBJECTED TO SEVERE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES, AND THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME RADICALIZED, HEAVILY-ARMED, SOVIET-DOMINATED AND IRREDENTIST. TO THE ISRAELIS, THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CHARTER WITH ITS LANGUAGE ABOUT THE

ZIONIST ENTITY BEING NULL AND VOID, IS NOT JUST RHETORIC BUT A CALL FOR DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH STATE. A PALESTINIAN STATE, IN ISRAELI EYES, COULD BECOME THE VORTEX OF NEW ARAB-ISRAEL TENSION THAT MIGHT SUCK THE ARAB STATES INTO THE CONFLICT, HOWEVER MUCH THEY MIGHT WISH TO AVOID IT. BEYOND THAT, ANYTHING THAT SADAT CAN SAY

TO GET ACROSS THE IDEA THAT, OVER AND BEYOND FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS IN A PEACE TREATY, EGYPT PERCEIVES A MUTUALITY OF INTEREST WITH ISRAEL IN SEEING THAT POST-SETTLEMENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS ARE CREATED THAT MINIMIZE THE RISK THAT A SETTLEMENT WILL BE SUBJECTED TO STRESSES, COULD AGAIN, IN OUR VIEW, MAKE A DEEP IMPRESSION ON ISRAELI ATTITUDES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 276306

5. ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, AS SADAT KNOWS, THE ISRAELIS OVER THE YEARS HAVE DEVELOPED THE CONVICTION THAT THEIR SECURITY WOULD BE COMPROMISED BY A SETTLEMENT THAT CALLED UPON THEM TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY TO THE PRE-1967 LINES. A RESTATEMENT OF ARAB OBJECTIVES IN THIS RESPECT WILL BE BETTER RECEIVED IN ISRAEL TO THE EXTENT IT IS PRESENTED AS PART OF A SETTLEMENT THAT BRINGS REAL PEACE AND IF IT ALSO EMPHASIZES ARAB READINESS TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON FAR-REACHING ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

6. FINALLY, A WORD ABOUT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AS HE IMPRESSES US AFTER HIS SEVERAL MONTHS IN POWER. TO A REMARKABLE DEGREE, HIS PERSONAL REACTIONS NOW DETERMINE ISRAELI POLICY. BEGIN IS A MAN OF WORDS, IDEOLOGY, AND EMOTION. HE IS ALSO A MAN OF INTEGRITY AND HONOR. ARMED WITH A DEEP SENSE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND A DEEP DESIRE TO BEQUEATH TO ISRAEL MORE THAN A GENERATION OF PEACE, HE HONESTLY BELIEVES THAT IN A TRUE, DIRECT NEGOTIATION HE CAN REACH A SETTLEMENT WHICH HE CAN THEN PERSUADE HIS PEOPLE TO ACCEPT. THE PERSON-TO-PERSON EQUATION SEEMS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN DEALING WITH HIM.

7. WITH RESPECT TO OUR PROPOSAL TO OVERCOME THE REMAINING PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES FOR GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH THE PRESIDENT CONVEYED IN HIS LETTER OF OCTOBER 29, YOU MAY INFORM SADAT THAT WE HAVE BRIEFED THE ISRAELIS ABOUT THE PROPOSAL AND HAVE GIVEN THEM A RUN-DOWN ON THE RESPONSES WE HAVE THUS FAR RECEIVED FROM THE ARABS. WE HAVE TOLD THE ISRAELIS THAT SADAT HAS ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL AND IS PREPARED TO PROCEED TO GENEVA WITHOUT FURTHER EFFORT TO FORMALIZE AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES, BUT THAT WE HAVE YET

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 276306

TO RECEIVE CLEAR RESPONSE FROM THE SYRIANS. WE ARE MAKING  
THE POINT TO BEGIN THAT OUR OBJECTIVE REMAINS AN EARLY  
RECONVENING OF GENEVA AND ARE URGING THAT THE ISRAELIS  
ALSO KEEP THIS IN SIGHT AS THEIR GOAL. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 276306  
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY:S/S:TMARTIN  
APPROVED BY:S/S:TMARTIN  
-----030317 180612Z /16  
O 180455Z NOV 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 276306

NODIS  
WHITE HOUSE FOR Z. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED NOVEMBER 18,  
1977 SENT CAIRO INFO TEL AVIV, AMMAN, BEIRUT, JIDDA,  
DAMASCUS IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 276306

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XF, US, EG

SUBJECT: SADAT VISIT TO ISRAEL  
REF: CAIRO 18977  
1. PLEASE TRY TO SEE SADAT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE  
FOLLOWING COMMENTS.

2. X; XX XX XX AS PRESIDENT  
CARTER HAS SAID IN HIS LETTER TO SADAT, HE CONSIDERS  
SADAT'S OFFER TO GO TO ISRAEL A BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE STEP  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 276306

THAT COULD HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT IN CHANGING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE OF THE ARAB-ISRAEL DISPUTE AND IMPROVING THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS PERHAPS SOME DANGER THAT A STATE OF EUPHORIA AND UNJUSTIFIED EXPECTATION MAY BE BUILT UP AROUND THE VISIT WHICH COULD THEN SUFFER A LET-DOWN AFTERWARDS. IT STRIKES US AS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT SADAT USE HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES AND STATEMENTS IN ISRAEL TO BEST ADVANTAGE TO BUILD ON THE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT WHICH THE MERE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS VISIT HAS ALREADY HAD ON ISRAELI PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL OPINION.

3. PERHAPS THE MOST USEFUL CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE IS TO GIVE SADAT A FEW OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE CURRENT PSYCHOLOGICAL MOOD IN ISRAEL AS WE UNDERSTAND IT. THE ISRAELIS

HAVE OF COURSE BEEN DEEPLY IMPRESSED AND INTERESTED IN THE INCREASING DEPTH OF EGYPT'S COMMITMENT TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE UNDER SADAT'S LEADERSHIP. THEY WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CERTAIN OTHER ARAB LEADERS AS WELL HAVE MOVED IN THE SAME DIRECTION IN RECENT YEARS. BUT THEY WOULD ALSO POINT OUT THAT ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL IS FAR FROM A UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. THE ISRAELIS HAVE A DEEP-SEATED FEAR THAT THE ARABS, IN THEIR HEART OF HEARTS, HAVE NOT REALLY GIVEN UP THE OBJECTIVE OF SEEKING TO DESTROY ISRAEL. THERE ARE UNFORTUNATELY STILL SUFFICIENTLY NUMEROUS VOICES IN THE ARAB WORLD THAT TEND TO GIVE DAILY CONFIRMATION OF THIS SUSPICION. SADAT'S VISIT TO ISRAEL THUS AFFORDS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THESE SUSPICIONS AND CONCERNS, AND TO BEGIN TO DISPEL THEM. FOR THE LEADER OF THE MOST POWERFUL AND INFLUENTIAL ARAB STATE TO STAND BEFORE THE ISRAELI KNESSET AND DEVELOP THE THEME OF ARAB READINESS TO ACCEPT ISRAEL AS A NEIGHBOR, AND TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH IT, CANNOT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 276306

HELP BUT MAKE A PROFOUND IMPRESSION ON ISRAELI THINKING. NOTHING COULD HAVE GREATER IMPACT THAN FOR SADAT TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IS TO CONCLUDE PEACE TREATIES AND, AS ONE ELEMENT OF PEACE, SEEK WAYS TO ESTABLISH NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN

THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS.

4. WE UNDERSTAND THAT SADAT WILL WANT TO SET FORTH THE ARAB PERCEPTION OF WHAT PALESTINIAN AND TERRITORIAL ELEMENTS OF PEACE SHOULD BE. IN THIS CONNECTION AN AREA OF SPECIAL SENSITIVITY IN TERMS OF ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION IS THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. IN ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, WE HOPE SADAT WILL KEEP IN MIND THE INTENSITY OF FEELING WITHIN ISRAEL AGAINST THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE ISRAELIS--AND THIS VIEW EXTENDS ACROSS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISRAELI POLITICAL OPINION--ARE CONVINCED THAT SUCH AN INDEPENDENT MINI-STATE WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE SUBJECTED TO SEVERE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES, AND THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME RADICALIZED, HEAVILY-ARMED, SOVIET-DOMINATED AND IRRIDENTIST. TO THE ISRAELIS, THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CHARTER WITH ITS LANGUAGE ABOUT THE ZIONIST ENTITY BEING NULL AND VOID, IS NOT JUST RHETOIC BUT A CALL FOR DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH STATE. A PALESTINIAN STATE, IN ISRAELI EYES, COULD BECOME THE VORTEX OF NEW ARAB-ISRAEL TENSION THAT MIGHT SUCK THE ARAB STATES INTO THE CONFLICT, HOWEVER MUCH THEY MIGHT WISH TO AVOID IT. BEYOND THAT, ANYTHING THAT SADAT CAN SAY

TO GET ACROSS THE IDEA THAT, OVER AND BEYOND FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS IN A PEACE TREATY, EGYPT PERCEIVES A MUTUALITY OF INTEREST WITH ISRAEL IN SEEING THAT POST-SETTLEMENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS ARE CREATED THAT MINIMIZE THE RISK THAT A SETTLEMENT WILL BE SUBJECT TO STRESSES, COULD AGAIN, IN OUR VIEW, MAKE A DEEP IMPRESSION ON ISRAELI ATTITUDES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 276306

5. ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, AS SADAT KNOWS, THE ISRAELIS OVER THE YEARS HAVE DEVELOPED THE CONVICTION THAT THEIR SECURITY WOULD BE COMPROMISED BY A SETTLEMENT THAT CALLED UPON THEM TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY TO THE PRE-1967 LINES. A RESTATEMENT OF ARAB OBJECTIVES IN THIS RESPECT WILL BE BETTER RECEIVED IN ISRAEL TO THE EXTENT IT IS PRESENTED AS PART OF A SETTLEMENT THAT BRINGS REAL PEACE AND IF IT ALSO EMPHASIZES ARAB READINESS TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON FAR-REACHING ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

6. FINALLY, A WORD ABOUT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AS HE IMPRESSES US AFTER HIS SEVERAL MONTHS IN POWER. TO A REMARKABLE DEGREE, HIS PERSONAL REACTIONS NOW DETERMINE ISRAELI POLICY. BEGIN IS A MAN OF WORDS, IDEOLOGY, AND EMOTION. HE IS ALSO A MAN OF INTEGRITY AND HONOR. ARMED

WITH A DEEP SENSE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND A DEEP DESIRE TO BEQUEATH TO ISRAEL MORE THAN A GENERATION OF PEACE, HE HONESTLY BELIEVES THAT IN A TRUE, DIRECT NEGOTIATION HE CAN REACH A SETTLEMENT WHICH HE CAN THEN PERSUADE HIS PEOPLE TO ACCEPT. THE PERSON-TO-PERSON EQUATION SEEMS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN DEALING WITH HIM.

7. WITH RESPECT TO OUR PROPOSAL TO OVERCOME THE REMAINING PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES FOR GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH THE PRESIDENT CONVEYED IN HIS LETTER OF OCTOBER 29, YOU MAY INFORM SADAT THAT WE HAVE BRIEFED THE ISRAELIS ABOUT THE PROPOSAL AND HAVE GIVEN THEM A RUN-DOWN ON THE RESPONSES WE HAVE THUS FAR RECEIVED FROM THE ARABS. WE HAVE TOLD THE ISRAELIS THAT SADAT HAS ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL AND IS PREPARED TO PROCEED TO GENEVA WITHOUT FURTHER EFFORT TO FORMALIZE AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURES, BUT THAT WE HAVE YET  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 276306

TO RECEIVE CLEAR RESPONSE FROM THE SYRIANS. WE ARE MAKING THE POINT TO BEGIN THAT OUR OBJECTIVE REMAINS AN EARLY RECONVENING OF GENEVA AND ARE URGING THAT THE ISRAELIS ALSO KEEP THIS IN SIGHT AS THEIR GOAL. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, VISITS, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, NEGOTIATIONS, PEACE TALKS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 18-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE276306  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** MSTERNER:TH  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P850052-2247  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE NEA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19771141/aaaabixn.tel  
**Line Count:** 358  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 55eac216-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 77 CAIRO 18977  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 530412  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SADAT VISIT TO ISRAEL  
**TAGS:** PGOV, XF, US, EG, (SADAT, ANWAR AL)  
**To:** CAIRO TEL AVIV MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/55eac216-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009